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Thursday, 31 May 2018, 3 p.m.

New York

President:	Ms. Wronecka	(Poland)
Members:	Bolivia (Plurinational State of)	Mr. Llorentty Soliz
	China	Mr. Shen Bo
	Côte d'Ivoire	Mr. Djédjé
	Equatorial Guinea	Mr. Esono Mbengono
	Ethiopia	Mr. Alemu
	France	Mr. Michon
	Kazakhstan	Mr. Umarov
	Kuwait	Mr. Alotaibi
	Netherlands	Mr. Van Oosterom
	Peru	Mr. Meza-Cuadra
	Russian Federation	Mr. Nebenzia
	Sweden	Mr. Orrenius Skau
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Mr. Allen
	United States of America	Mrs. Haley

Agenda

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan

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The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Reports of the Secretary-General on the Sudan and South Sudan

The President: In accordance with rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure, I invite the representative of South Sudan to participate in this meeting.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2018/515, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by the United States of America.

I shall now give the floor to those members who wish to make statements before the voting.

Mrs. Haley (United States of America): What would members of the Security Council say if they were sitting across the table from a rape survivor in a protection-of-civilians site? What would they say to the countless women who had to witness their own husbands and children being shot right in front of them? What would they say to the two brothers who were forced to watch as those fighters gang-raped their mother and then were forced to actually take turns shooting at their mother until she was dead?

Those are not hypotheticals. Those are the stories of real people whom I saw and heard when I visited South Sudan. That is the sad reality because the leaders of South Sudan have failed to protect them. Those stories are not exceptional. Those kinds of horrific abuses happen all too frequently in South Sudan. Armed groups, including Government forces, are assaulting, robbing and slaughtering civilians almost every single day. Four million people have been displaced by fighting, another 2.5 million people have become refugees, and the fighting is getting worse.

Multiple United Nations special representatives described in a statement what has happened in recent weeks.

> "Testimonies indicate that women and girls of all ages have been subjected to rape, including pregnant women, lactating mothers and girls as young as 4-years-old."

In another case, young soldiers attacked the island of Meer in former Unity state. Women, children and the elderly were slaughtered. Other civilians drowned while trying to flee, including children. Again I would ask, what would each of us say to those people?

We should be telling them that we will do everything possible to help protect them and stop their suffering. We should be explaining to the people of South Sudan that the Security Council will take decisive action to hold their leaders accountable for those atrocities. We should be putting real pressure on them to end the fighting.

The Security Council has not imposed an arms embargo, even though the need is obvious. The Council has not sanctioned a single individual since 2015, even as the violence associated with the renewed civil war has killed thousands of people. The South Sudanese Government actually promoted one of the handful of individuals the Council previously sanctioned to the position of Chief of the Defence Forces. That is not just an insult to the Council, it is a farce. The United States has lost its patience. The status quo is unacceptable. It is long past time for all of us to demand better for the South Sudanese people. I for one went to South Sudan with an open mind. I had a genuine conversation with President Salva Kiir, and since then all we have been asked to do is wait. We are told more time is necessary for talks, or more time is necessary before the Council will be able to impose sanctions. But all we see on the ground is more fighting and more atrocities.

Last December the parties in South Sudan signed the agreement on the cessation of hostilities. A few days ago they supposedly recommitted to that agreement with church leaders. So far, those are just words on paper. The parties have violated that agreement from day one. Neither the Intergovernmental Authority on Development nor the African Union have applied consequences for the violators. What we need now is concrete action by the full international community to hold the warring parties accountable. The draft resolution before us today (S/2018/515) is a modest step in that direction. It extends the sanctions regime for 45 days. It demands that the parties fully adhere to the cessation of hostilities. We hope they seize this opportunity for the sake of the South Sudanese people.

This is a draft resolution that we should all support. We urge Council members to use this time to think about the reality of life in South Sudan. I have said

often that my fear when it comes to South Sudan is that the children are growing up uneducated, unskilled and resentful. That will be the issue of each one of us when they become adults. Those children deserve a brighter future and, in the face of such barbaric violence, the Council's failure to act denies them that future. I do not think any of us could look a survivor of this conflict in the eye and say the right thing to do today was to delay. We must stop making excuses and take real steps to end the conflict instead. I for one cannot justify anything else.

Mr. Alemu (Ethiopia): The situation in South Sudan worries all of us, in particular those of us in the region. We fully understand the gravity of the situation, and we share the pain and suffering of the South Sudanese people. However, we also know that the seemingly unsurmountable multifaceted problems facing the country can be addressed only through an all-inclusive political process. We have made some undeniable progress in that regard. It is understandable if the seriousness of the South Sudanese parties and the slow pace of the peace process are creating a lot of frustration. We in the region are also extremely frustrated. However, as much as we understand the frustration of the many who have done a great deal to help the people of South Sudan, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) is at the critical moment of concluding the High-Level Revitalization Forum and presenting its bridging proposal. The adoption of the draft resolution before us (S/2018/515) would be detrimental to the process. It is a very tragic development indeed.

There has been a clear understanding on the part of IGAD, the African Union (AU) and the United Nations that there is a need to coordinate efforts to push the peace process forward and achieve the desired result. That unity of purpose and complementarity of efforts is what has been dictating everything we do in IGAD. The Security Council taking action now without synchronizing or calibrating its position regarding the AU would not only be unhelpful, it would also seriously undermine the peace process at a time when there are encouraging signs that a political outcome involving compromise could be within reach. The possibility that the peace process might collapse totally as a consequence of this cannot be ruled out. And we mean that. Those who are closer to the problem might also be closer to the truth.

What is more ironic is that the draft resolution before us for adoption comes at a time when IGAD has reaffirmed its commitment to take targeted measures against parties and individuals who are found to be spoilers, and this was also reinforced by the African Union. The IGAD Council of Ministers convened in an extraordinary meeting today, and it deliberated on those issues on the basis of the report provided by the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism. What was evident in the outcome of that meeting was IGAD's resolve to take punitive measures against commanders who are directly involved and those who are found to be violating the cessation of hostilities agreement.

An IGAD Extraordinary Summit of Heads of State and Government is also expected to be held soon. It therefore would have been logical and sensible for the Council to adopt a short, technical extension of the sanctions regime and drop the annex for now in order to give IGAD a chance during this critical moment in the peace process. Waiting two months would not have caused the sky to fall. We have been working with the penholder and all other members on the issue, and we have been trying to convey this message in good faith over the past couple of days. At the moment, we know that the draft resolution on the table does not enjoy the support of IGAD or the African Union. It also does not enjoy consensus among Council members. We know that a Council divided on this issue will not be helpful to the peace process, and it will not send the right message to the parties. That is what we have been trying to avoid. That is also why we have been working with the penholder in good faith and in a spirit of cooperation. Unfortunately, our concerns have not been fully taken into account, and we are forced to abstain in the voting on the draft resolution. In fact, that is the least we could do.

We seek the support and understanding of members of the Council because we feel we have the responsibility as Chair of IGAD and as the country intimately involved in the mediation efforts. We are duty-bound to salvage the peace process in spite of the many challenges and difficulties. In conclusion, let me say that politics is the art of the possible. Diplomacy is not conducted to vent frustration. That is what this draft resolution is the result of.

As a matter of principle, IGAD has not said that sanctions should not be imposed; they should be. As we have stated, we will abstain in the voting on the

draft resolution because the text is manifestly harmful to the peace process. It undermines the efforts of the subregion, the region, IGAD and the AU. We only hope that it will not drive the parties away from the peace process.

Mr. Esono Mbengono (Equatorial Guinea) (*spoke in Spanish*): Despite the efforts made by the parties during negotiations to broker an agreement, Equatorial Guinea simply cannot support the draft resolution (S/2018/515)submitted by the United States. We believe that the annex to the draft resolution, which includes a list of individuals on whom sanctions will be imposed, will hinder the negotiations taking place on the ground.

The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was mandated to mediate between the parties to the South Sudanese conflict. Until the African Union decides otherwise, we will maintain our trust in that organization as the most appropriate body for finding a negotiated political solution to the situation. Although we acknowledge the deadlock, we firmly believe that progress could be made in the coming months.

In a communiqué issued today, IGAD calls for additional time to conduct its work. We believe that it is important to grant that request. The commitment by the parties to holding a face-to-face meeting between President Salva Kiir and Mr. Machar just before the next African Union Summit, to be held in Mauritania, is a major achievement. The measures outlined in the text could leave the international community without valid interlocutors with whom to negotiate, which would inevitably have an adverse impact on the political process. We believe that dialogue must be given another opportunity.

With regard to the South Sudanese conflict, it must be stressed that we all agree that it is important to exert pressure on the parties to sit at the negotiating table and reach an agreement. The only difference is how and when. Equatorial Guinea asks our colleagues in the Security Council, as well as the international community, to be a bit more patient, for we recognize that the situation will not be resolved overnight. It is important to make optimal use of our time and not interfere in or disregard the legitimacy of the regional organizations the Security Council has continued to support.

If no progress is made in the coming months, IGAD has promised to submit specific proposals in an effort to put pressure on uncooperative parties and impose possible sanctions. We ask that IGAD be given a chance.

The President: The Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Côte d'Ivoire, France, Kuwait, Netherlands, Peru, Poland, Sweden, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

Against:

None

Abstaining:

Bolivia (Plurinational State of), China, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Kazakhstan, Russian Federation

The President: The draft resolution received nine votes in favour, none against and six abstentions. The draft resolution has been adopted as resolution 2418 (2018).

I shall now give the floor to those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the voting.

Mr. Allen (United Kingdom): The United Kingdom welcomes the adoption of this important resolution (resolution 2418 (2018)).

The situation in South Sudan is appalling. Thousands have been killed. More than one fifth of the population is on the verge of famine, more than half is food-insecure and a third have fled their homes. Widespread human rights abuses continue to be reported. We strongly welcome and support regional efforts led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) to revitalize the peace agreement and broker an agreement between the parties. But it is clear that the parties are still not prepared to compromise in the interest of peace.

Even while peace talks were taking place, violations of the cessation of hostilities continued. We have seen horrific reports of violence and human rights violations and abuse. Just today the media is reporting that the Ceasefire and Transitional Security Arrangements Monitoring Mechanism has recorded multiple ceasefire violations, allegations of gang rape, murdered children and the use of child soldiers. That cannot be allowed to continue.

It is clear that the solution to South Sudan's crisis is lasting peace. I agree with my colleague from Ethiopia about the need to address the problems of South Sudan through an all-inclusive political process. Without it suffering will spread and the consequences will endure for many years to come. Genuine compromise is essential to secure a political agreement that stands the test of time.

The United Kingdom believes that resolution 2418 (2018) is an important step in increasing the pressure on the parties to compromise in the interest of peace and in the interest of the people of South Sudan. The Security Council has today shown that it will act. Let that be a clear message to the parties and to those who wish to prevent peace going forward.

I acknowledge that it is unfortunate that the Council could not agree unanimously today, but I believe that we are united in our vision for South Sudan. I believe we all remain supportive of IGAD and its work. Let us therefore not cease in our resolve to find peace or give any comfort to those who oppose it.

Mr. Van Oosterom (Netherlands): On 21 December last year, the parties to the conflict in South Sudan agreed on a cessation of hostilities. The Kingdom of the Netherlands welcomed it as a positive step towards a political solution. But it was just days, perhaps even hours, before the fighting resumed. Once again we saw the leaders of South Sudan choose war over peace, despite calls by the Security Council, the region, civil society organizations and, most important, the people of South Sudan.

Choosing war over peace must stop. That is why we voted in favour of resolution 2418 (2018). Today the Council sent a strong message to all parties in South Sudan, stressing that there is an urgent need for a full commitment to the cessation of hostilities, an urgent need for a full commitment to a political agreement and an urgent need for a full commitment to the well-being of the people of South Sudan. If the parties in South Sudan continue to behave solely based on their narrow self-interests, the Council will consider serious consequences.

We regret that the unanimous adoption of the resolution was not possible. We believe that it would have been possible had the Council been granted additional time for full engagement through closer cooperation with the region.

The resolution has now been adopted. We thank the Intergovernmental Authority on Development for its continuous leadership, and we join it in urging all parties to the High-Level Revitalization Forum to negotiate in good faith and make real compromises. It is now up to the leaders of South Sudan to show that they are serious about peace, about finding a political solution and about the well-being of the people of South Sudan.

Mr. Orrenius Skau (Sweden): The millions of South Sudanese caught up in this brutal conflict have waited too long for their leaders to bring about an end to the fighting. Despite the efforts of the region to broker an agreement, the parties have not made the compromises necessary to set the country on a path towards peace, reconciliation and recovery. Instead of engaging constructively and in good faith in the negotiations at the High-Level Revitalization Forum, the parties have continued to advance their interests through military means.

Harrowing reports of violence against civilians, including widespread sexual and gender-based violence, continue to emerge from South Sudan. Violations and abuses of international human rights law and of international humanitarian law must come to an end.

With other members of the Security Council, we share a deep sense of frustration at the intransigence of the leaders of South Sudan. The Council stated its determination to ensure that the parties abide by their obligations and responsibilities in our presidential statement of 14 December 2017 (S/PRST/2017/25). The repeated violations of commitments by the parties must have consequences. Resolution 2418 (2018), adopted today, sets out clear conditions and deadlines for the parties, adding international pressure to regional efforts. It is for that reason that we voted in favour of it.

At the same time, we deeply regret that the Council was not able to adopt the resolution by consensus. We worked actively with members to find agreement on a text that would have garnered greater support. To that end, we believe that the resolution could have been better coordinated with ongoing efforts in the region.

A regionally brokered and inclusive political solution remains the only viable means of achieving peace in South Sudan. We call on the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the wider region to continue efforts towards such a political solution. In that regard, we welcome the outcome of the

IGAD Council of Ministers meeting today. To give the peace effort the best possible prospect for success, it is imperative that we now stand unified and speak with a single voice to the parties.

Today's resolution presents a clear choice for the parties. We urge them to immediately respect the cessation of hostilities agreement and urgently engage in good faith on reaching a viable political agreement.

Mr. Nebenzia (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian delegation abstained in the voting on resolution 2418 (2018), on extending sanctions against South Sudan.

We are concerned by the security situation in the country and by the fact that, despite the December 2017 agreement, there has been continuing fighting in the country. We call on the South Sudanese parties to quickly find a compromise solution in the interests of the entire South Sudanese population.

Nonetheless, we believe that it is wrong-headed to threaten the introduction of sanctions against those high-ranking individuals who were involved in the negotiation process at an important moment for the completion of the latest round of the High-Level Revitalization Forum on the peace agreement, sponsored by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). We are of the view that the Forum currently represents a unique arena in the attempt to find a political solution to the conflict in South Sudan. We therefore believe that it is important to provide genuine support to IGAD's mediation efforts. We think the imposition of artificial timelines or deadlines for the negotiation process, or measures adopted that conflict with positions expressed by regional players, is unacceptable.

On the whole, we continue to doubt that the introduction of sanctions against members of the Government and an arms embargo on South Sudan could play a positive role in reaching a political settlement and normalizing the situation from a security point of view. During the course of work on a new sanctions draft resolution in July, we will also proceed from the position that it is unacceptable to have any preordained stance on broadening sanctions.

Finally, we categorically reject what we believe to be the penholders' damaging and disrespectful position towards their colleagues in the Security Council, once again imposing a too-strict time frame on the Council, which is simply unacceptable when taking such far-reaching decisions on sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

Mr. Shen Bo (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): The South Sudanese political process is currently in a critical phase. The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union (AU), and countries of the region are stepping up their mediation efforts, and various parties within South Sudan are actively engaged in dialogue and consultation. It behooves the international community to have due regard for, and carefully listen to, the views of the country in question, regional organizations and other countries in the region, jointly support the mediation efforts of regional organizations and help the parties in South Sudan return to trying to reach a political settlement with a view to stabilizing the situation and putting the country on an expeditious path towards development.

China has maintained a consistent position on the issue of sanctions based on the belief that sanctions are a means to an end, not an end in and of themselves. The Security Council should exercise great caution in implementing sanctions, and its action ought to help advance the political settlement process in South Sudan and lend support to the good offices and mediation efforts of regional organizations, such as IGAD and the AU.

However, the annex to resolution 2418 (2018), just adopted, includes some high-ranking officials of the Government of South Sudan on the proposed sanctions list and threatens an arms embargo. Given the current circumstances, those elements are not conducive to furthering the political peace process in South Sudan and could further complicate the situation. There was also no consensus within the Security Council or among the countries of the region.

In the light of these considerations, China abstained in the voting on resolution. China hope that the members of the Security Council will continue to engage in consultations on relevant issues, with a view to finding a proper solution and joining forces with the South Sudanese parties, regional organizations and countries of the region in order to move to peace process in South Sudan forward. We stand ready to work with the international community and continue to play a constructive role in bringing lasting peace and stability to South Sudan.

Mr. Llorentty Solíz (Plurinational State of Bolivia) (*spoke in Spanish*): Committed as it is to the people of South Sudan and to the political process led by the relevant regional organizations, Bolivia would like to explain its vote today.

Our abstention in the voting on resolution 2418 (2018) responds to specific elements that were not taken into account by the penholders with respect to the list of persons identified in the annex, which had been brought to their attention by several delegations. As we have said before on several occasions, we supports the legal waiting period before adopting measures, including sanctions measures, against those who violate cessation of hostilities agreements and obstruct peace processes. Such decisions, which are relevant not only for South Sudan but also for the region, must be agreed in principle in conjunction with the relevant regional and subregional organizations.

We would like to also express our concern that the resolution was not adopted by unanimity. The Security Council is not sending the right message. We believe that the Council should stay united behind the political process led by the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). Of course, today's decision weakens that position.

Finally, we welcome the IGAD Council of Ministers communiqué issued after the meeting held today in Addis Ababa. We reiterate that the only solution to this conflict is through the political process currently being led by IGAD.

Mr. Michon (France) (*spoke in French*): The Security Council just adopted resolution 2418 (2018), which renews the sanctions regime on South Sudan. France voted in favour of the resolution, which should help to put an end to the violence in South Sudan and to advance the political process.

The international community and the Council could not — cannot — remain impassive in the face of the clashes on the ground in the past few months and the continuous violations of human rights. In that connection, we welcome the efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) through the High-level Revitalization Forum to bring the parties back together and find a political solution. However, we regret that the parties did not seize upon that opportunity to reach a political agreement that would provide peace prospects for South Sudan and its long-suffering people.

The parties must now take advantage of the coming weeks to reach an adequate political agreement. Today's resolution should make them aware of their responsibility in that regard. The international community must stay fully mobilized to promote favourable conditions for peace and security in South Sudan. IGAD, the African Union and regional and international partners, as well as the Council, have a role to play. The coming weeks will be pivotal for South Sudan.

Mr. Umarov (Kazakhstan): Kazakhstan is deeply concerned that, despite the signing of the agreement on the cessation of hostilities, the protection of civilians and humanitarian access, as well as numerous calls from the Security Council and all signatories, we continue to receive reports of continuing military actions and flagrant violations of international humanitarian law and human rights law. Moreover, the parties to the conflict have not made sufficient compromises to overcome the outstanding issues on governance and security matters.

We therefore express our readiness to discuss appropriate additional measures by the Council against those who violate the agreement. However, the position of countries in the region and regional organizations, namely, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and the African Union (AU), should be taken into account in the Council's deliberations on such measures. We all support a bigger role for regional organizations in the work of the Security Council. Our delegation abstained in the voting on resolution 2418 (2018) because the positions and concerns of the countries of the region with regard to the timing of such actions were not adequately reflected. We support the idea of postponing the Council's new measures and giving IGAD some additional time to realize the objectives of the High-level Revitalization Forum process.

It is of critical importance that the Council remain united in supporting the efforts of IGAD and the AU. We should give Government officials as a party to negotiations the chance to achieve the desired progress, and we strongly urge them to do so. We welcome the decisions set out in the communiqué of the Extraordinary Session of the IGAD Council of Ministers on the situation in South Sudan, adopted today, and hope that the parties will be able to reconcile their differences and make significant progress on bridging proposals on governance and security issues. This is a wake-up call for the Government to be proactive and

to genuinely engage in the peace process. Otherwise, the consequences of inaction and further delays will be dire for the Government, which was put on notice today with the adoption of the resolution. However, we are against the annex and including the names of the officials before we see the results.

The President: I now give the floor to the representative of South Sudan.

Mr. Malwal (South Sudan): Allow me to congratulate you, Madam President, at the end of your duties as the President of the Security Council for this month. Your tenure was indeed full and eventful. Also, we would like to congratulate Poland for joining the Intergovernmental Authority on Development Partners Forum. We look forward to your upcoming visit to South Sudan.

I would also like to thank the countries that have abstained from supporting resolution 2418 (2018) because the peace process in South Sudan is at a critical juncture right now. There is a light at the end of the tunnel, and the annex to the resolution is unfortunate and unhelpful. The danger is that it might not produce the desired result for those who supported the resolution. Nevertheless, the Government of South Sudan will work with the region to achieve lasting peace for the people of South Sudan.

The President: There are no more names inscribed on the list of speakers.

Before adjourning the meeting, I would like to convey my sincere thanks to the members of the Security Council, as this is probably the last scheduled meeting of the Council for the month of May. On behalf of my colleagues in the Polish delegation, I would like to express the sincere appreciation to all of the members of the Security Council, especially my colleagues the Permanent Representatives — excellent diplomats — and the experts and colleagues from the Council's secretariat for their support. Indeed, it was a busy month. I hope that we managed to reach consensus from time to time. Personally, I felt all of their support and it was an extremely enriching experience. I learned a lot, but I hope I was also able to deliver results. Without everyone's contribution and without everyone's open heart and spirit, we could never have achieved what we achieved. I should also mention the interpreters in the Chamber, whose role is crucial. I thank them for their work. This was an extremely interesting adventure.

As the Russian presidency approaches, on behalf of the entire Council, I wish our colleagues from the Russian Federation good luck and great success. We return tomorrow under the auspices of their presidency.

The meeting rose at 4 p.m.